

MUHAMMAD IBN AL-QASIM

***A Study of his Family Background and
Personality***

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Students of early Indo-Muslim history are sufficiently familiar with the name of the famous Arab general, Muhammad b. al-Qasim, and his conquest of North Western India in the early years of the second decade of the eighth century A.D. He is popularly known as the Conqueror of Sind which is now a province of Pakistan but under the Arab administration included the whole of West Pakistan except some parts of the North West Frontier Province. This conquest of Sind by Muhammad and the subsequent Arab rule in Sind for nearly three centuries is a fascinating chapter of Indo-Muslim history in which Muhammad b. al-Qasim stands out as a hero. Usually 'heroes' tend to become legendary as subsequent generations mix up facts with fiction to depict a more impressive picture of their personalities. Sometimes only the hero's name is exalted for want of other particulars about him which somehow are relegated to oblivion. Muhammad b. al-Qasim is not an exception to such treatment. As Islam was, for the first time, introduced into this sub-continent following his conquest of Sind, Muhammad b. al-Qasim is the sentimental hero of the Muslims of this sub-continent but most of them hardly know anything about him beyond his name. On the other hand, the non-Muslim writers have side-tracked facts in their accounts of Muhammad. Indeed, most of the historians have mixed up facts and fiction in their appraisal of this historical personality. But in Muhammad b. al-Qasim's case, facts are stranger than fiction. An attempt is, therefore, made here to explore facts—facts about his family background and career in order to set his personality in a better historical perspective.

Family Background :

Muhammad belonged to the family of Abu 'Aqil which, in turn belonged to the main tribe of Banu *Thaqif* and hence the name of Muhammad as 'Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-*Thaqafi*', i.e. belonging to the tribe of *Thaqif*. The genealogy of *Thaqif*,¹ the progenitor of the *Thaqafites*,

1. *Thaqif* b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawazan b. Mansur b. 'Ikrimah b. Khasafah b. Qais 'Ailan b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma'add b. 'Adanan. Confirm Ibn Hazm p. 255; Ibn Duraid I/182-83; al-Sam'ani الثقفى; Ibn Hisham I/49; al-Marzubani pp. 337-38, Sharh Nahj. II/392.

shows that he belonged to the sub-branch of Qais-'Ailan of the stock of the 'Adnani Arabs, the pure stock of the Northern Arabs as compared with the Qahtanids i.e. the Southerners. Al-Marzubani has pointed out this fact of the noble ancestry of the *Thaqafites*, which was responsible for their great prestige.² To the 'Adnani stock also belonged the Quraishites including the Umayyids. The *Thaqafites* had, therefore, a common ancestry with the ruling house of the Umayyids and this advantage contributed to their source of strength. Indeed, the *Thaqafites* played an important part in the government during the Umayyid rule.

The beautiful green oasis town of al-Ta'if had been the main habitat of the *Thaqafites* from where they spread all over Arabia and in other lands.³ Thus, partly this very environment was responsible for producing many prominent personalities among them. Both of the two main sub-branches of the *Thaqafites*-*Banu Jusham* and *Banu 'Auf*-produced able administrators and commanders who were associated with the conquest of North Western India.

(i) To *Banu Jusham's* prominent family of *Banu Hutait* belonged 'Uthman who under his governorship of Bahrain and 'Uman during the caliphate of 'Umar, sent naval expeditions against the port of Daibul, Thana and Bharoach on the West coast of India in 15 A. H. (636 A.D.).⁴ To them also belonged, Abd-al-Rahman, the Governor of Kufa under the reign of Mu'awiyah.⁵ Muhammad b. Mus'ab b. 'Abd-al-Rahman, who was one of Muhammad b. al-Qasim's commanders in Sind⁶ and also conquered Sadusan or Schwan for him,⁷ was most probably a grandson of this 'Abd-al-Rahman, the Governor of Kufa.

(ii) *Banu 'Auf* produced still greater personalities. Their first distinguished member was Mu'attib whom the Prophet had sent to the *Thaqafites* to call them to Islam but who was killed by them.⁸ His grandson was Abu 'Aqil whose descendants, being particularly prominent, came to be distinguished as *Al Abi-'Aqil* - 'the Family of Abi 'Aqil'. To this family belonged Muhammad b. al-Qasim.

The star of *Al Abi 'Aqil* rose high with the rise of al-Hajjaj, a school teacher of al-Ta'if,⁹ whom Caliph Abd-al-Malik (685-705 A.D.) first appointed in 72 A.H. as a military commander to fight against his adver-

2. al-Marzubani, p. 338.

3. al-Sam'ani, see under (الثقفي)

4. Cf. the author's article entitled "The Probable Date of the First Arab Expeditions to India," *Islamic Culture*, July 1946, Hyd. Dn.

5. Ibn Duraid 11-183 & Ibn Hazm p. 254.

6. *Vide*, Fathenama, pp. 155, 174, 180 & 192 al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 458 Egypt ed. p. 425.

7. Cf. al-Baladhuri p. 438 and Fathenama, p. 146.

8. Ibn Hazm, p. 255.

9. Ibn Duraid, II 187.

sary Ibn Zubair; thereafter he was appointed as Governor of Medina in 74 A. H., and subsequently as the Viceroy of Iraq in 75 A. H.¹⁰ which post he held for 20 years till his death in 95 A.H. During this long period of his office, al-Hajjaj patronised many of his *Thaqafite* relatives and appointed them to various highly important posts but none succeeded like Muhammad b. al-Qasim,¹¹ the youngest of them all.

Muhammad's Early Home Life :—

In all probability, Muhammad was born by about 75 A.H. at al-Ta'if. His mother's name was Habibat al-'Uzma¹² and his father was al-Qasim¹³ who was a cousin of al-Hajjaj (being the son of al-Hajjaj's uncle Muhammad b. al-Hakam). Muhammad b. al-Qasim was, therefore, the grandson of al-Hajjaj's uncle Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. 'Abi-'Aqil, and the son of his cousin al-Qasim but not exactly al-Hajjaj's nephew (uncle's son).¹⁴ The complete genealogy of Muhammad on his father's

10. *Yide* al-Tabari, Vol. II, pp. 829, 854 and 863.

11. Muhammad led the armies to Sind in 92 A.H. and conquered it in 93 A.H. By this time, he was a lad of 17 years (*vide infra* p. 15) and hence the year of his birth would be 75 A.H. The members of Abu 'Aqil's family were obviously living at al-Ta'if, the old home of the *Thaqafites*, from whom al-Hajjaj was recruited in 72 A.H. Their prominent members, including Muhammad's parents, may possibly have left al-Ta'if only after 75 A.H. when al-Hajjaj became the Viceroy of Iraq and was able to fix up his relatives in various provincial posts away from al-Ta'if.

12. So mentioned in al-Hajjaj's letter to Muhammad b. al-Qasim when the latter had defeated Dahar in Sind. (*Vide* Fathenama, p. 192).

13. Thus his proper name would be 'Muhammad bin al-Qasim' (Muhammad son of al-Qasim). However, the early histories of Sind and India written in Persian, following Fathenama the earliest of them all, wrote his name in the Persian form as "محمد قاسم" (Muhammad-e-Qasim) i. e. Muhammad (son) of Qasim.

The manuscripts generally did not carry the *zer-e-idafat*, and the readers missing its significance mistook the two names (of the son and the father) for one compound name of the Conqueror of Sind as "محمد قاسم". Thus, many early writers have erroneously given Muhammad's personal name as "Muhammad Qasim" which is obviously incorrect.

14. This clarification is important in view of the fact that a great deal of confusion has been caused by the Arabic phrase "ابن عم" which has been used in the histories written in Arabic describing Muhammad's relationship to al-Hajjaj. "ابن عم" literally means "uncle's son" but broadly, it also means, in Arabic usage, 'any descendant of one's uncle.' The Persian word "عمزاده" (correctly used in Fathenama pp. 100 & 213), at best can be the corresponding word for "ابن عم" in the latter sense of the term. But occasionally Fathenama (pp. 94 & 106) followed by M'asumi (p. 21), describes Muhammad as "پسر عم حجاج" 'son of Hajjaj's uncle' which is a misleading phrase. For, Muhammad b. al-Qasim was actually the grandson of al-Hajjaj's uncle Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. 'Abi 'Aqil, and the son of al-Hajjaj's cousin, al-Qasim.

side can now be traced as follows: "Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. Abi 'Aqil b. Mas'ud b. 'Amir b. Mu'attib b. Malik b. Ka'ab b. 'Amr b. Sa'd. 'Auf b. *Thaqif* b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur b. 'Ikrimah b. Khasafah b. Qais 'Ailan b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma'add b. 'Adnan."

Muhammad had two brothers namely Sulb and al-Hajjaj. Sulb is mentioned in one of al-Hajjaj's (the Viceroy of Iraq) letters to Muhammad recorded in *Fathenama*,¹⁵ wherein al-Hajjaj's statement indicates that Sulb was a man of reputation. Probably he was older than Muhammad. al-Hajjaj, Muhammad's second brother was obviously younger than he as he emerges into prominence about twenty-five years after Muhammad's death. He was a lieutenant of al-Muzni who commanded the state forces against Zaid b. 'Ali, in Safar, 122 A.H. Jan. 740 A.D., and was dispatched with Zaid's head to Yusuf b. 'Umar, the Viceroy of Iraq.¹⁶

The duration of Muhammad's home life with his parents appears to be approximately 15 years, from 75 A.H. 90 to 91 A.H.. By 90 to 91 A.H. he seems to have entered service and left for abroad once for all. Little is known about this early period of his life, from infancy to late adolescence, but, in all probability, it was spent partly at al-Ta'if where he was born, partly at al-Basrah where his father al-Qasim was appointed as Governor by al-Hajjaj,¹⁷ and partly at Wasit the capital of al-Hajjaj who liked him immensely.

Considering the circumstances of his parents, it can be safely presumed that all care was taken to educate young Muhammad. The very name of his mother, 'Habibat-al-'Uzma', i.e. 'Habiba the Great', suggests that she was an eminent lady who must have taken good care of her son. Muhammad's father al-Qasim was not an intellectual man and, indeed, as compared with the usually shrewd and intelligent *Thaqafites* he was rather a simpleton.¹⁸ All the same, he was a well-informed man,¹⁹ and capable enough to have served as the Governor of al-Basrah. Al-Ta'if was an ideal place for the infancy and early child-hood of Muhammad. That al-Hajjaj himself was a teacher at al-Ta'if just three years before Muhammad's birth, shows that it was an educationally advanced town. At al-Basrah, where his father was appointed as the Governor, young Muhammad had within his reach immense educational opportunities as it was a great intellectual, cultural, and military centre of the Muslim

15. See *Fathenama*, p. 192.

16. al-Tabari, II-1171.

17. Cf. Ibn Hazm, p. 256.

18. Cf. Muhammad b. Habib who in his *Kitab-al-Muhabbar* (p. 380) mentions him ('al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. Abi Aqil'), as one of the 'simpletons among the *Thaqafites*' ('حمقى ثقفى').

19. al-Bukhari in his *al-Tarikh al-Kabir* (Vol. IV, p. 157) has mentioned his riwayat from Muawiyah.

world at that time. At Wasit it appears probable that al-Hajjaj should have taken a keen interest in the education and training of this promising boy because all the relevant references indicate that al-Hajjaj was very fond of Muhammad and loved him immensely.²⁰

Anyway, Muhammad grew up under favourable conditions into an able, energetic and cultured lad of fine tastes. Even as a boy, he had developed a particular liking for a wild plant of sweet fragrance called *al-Bahar*,²¹ and, therefore, came to be nicknamed *Abu-al-Bahar*.²²

20. Cf. Fathenama pp. 103, 189, 190. It is also mentioned in a letter of al-Hajjaj to Muhammad b. al-Qasim, quoted in Fathenama (p. 192), that Muhammad was dearer to Hajjaj than any other member of Muhammad's family.

21. It was also known to the Arabs by various other names such as al-'Arar, al-'Ararah, 'Ain al-Baqar and Bahar-al-Barre. According to the lexicon al-Taj:-
 "والبهار كسحاب (نبت طيب الريح) قال الجوهري: وهو العرار الذي يقال له عين البقر وهو بهار البر وهو نبت أجده فقا حقه صفراء تنبت أيام الربيع يقال له العرارة - وقال الأصمعي

العرار بهار البر التاج: المستدرك (بهر)

22. This interesting and important piece of information is fortunately preserved in al-Taj (see the root 'بهر' under المستدرك where it is quoted on authority of al-

Marzubani و أبو البهار محمد بن القاسم الثقفي كان يعجب بالبهار فكنى به قاله المرزباني

Al-Marzubani being a trustworthy authority, the authenticity of this information is beyond any doubt. This explodes the myth of Muhammad's fake title "Imad al-Din" (عماد الدين) used in Fathenama (vide Fathenama, pp. 9, 93, 106,

141, 163 & 244, which is also followed by Firishtah, IV 403). That this title of Muhammad is employed by the Persian translator of Fathenama purely arbitrarily, is clear from the fact that he has also coined at random another title for him viz. 'Karim al-Din' (كريم الدين, Fathenama, p. 127). In fact, this interpolation by the Persian translator only reflects the fashion of his times (early seventh century A.H.) when royal titles entailing 'Din' had become quite common in the eastern parts of the Muslim world. Such imposing titles as 'Yamin al-Din' (for Mahmud of Ghazna) and 'Muizz-al-Din' or 'Shihab-al-Din' (for Muhammad b. Sam of Ghur) probably set the fashion. The translator himself wrote shortly afterwards during the reign of Nasir-al-Din Qabachah (cf. p. 7). Obviously such titles, then, had become the fashion of the day. Moreover, the translator himself was fond of using such titles as literary appendages to all sorts of names. For instance he gives his own patron, 'Amir 'Ain-al-Mulk, the title of "سماء الدين والملك" (p. 297); to Qadi Musa of Bakhar, he gives the title

of "برهان المله والدين" (p. 235), and to his descendant Qadi 'Isam'il that of

"كمال المله والدين". He even called his own book, the translation of Fathenama

as 'Minhaj-al-Din' (منهاج الدين والملك, p. 247). So, it was only too tempting

for him to conceive a right royal title for this really great conqueror whose name in Arabic records which he translated (cf. Fathenama p. 10) was simply written as 'Muhammad'. It need not be emphasized that such presumptuous titles were perhaps not even conceived of during the times of Muhammad b. al-Qasim.

His Marriage:—

References pertaining to Muhammad's marriage are not very clear, hence it is difficult to determine precisely when and to whom he was married. Most probably Muhammad married before his appointment abroad. For, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, his busy time abroad as a commandar on active military fronts leaves little room for any presumption that he may have left his post and returned home just to get married.

As regards his marriage, the following three positions need to be examined:—

(i) Firstly, the following interesting episode is recorded in al-Aghani:—

“al-Hajjaj proposed it to Zainab (his sister) that he could give her in marriage either to Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. al-Hakam b. 'Abi 'Aqil who was a lad of 17 years and, at that time, most highly honoured among the *Thaqafites*, or to al-Hakam b. 'Ayyub b. al-Hakam b. 'Abi 'Aqil who was an old man. She chose al-Hakam whereupon he (al-Hajjaj) married her to him (al-Hakam).”²³

If this story be correct, Zainab's choice of al-Hakam was not most probably influenced by her own age. Being sister of al-Hajjaj she must have been considerably older than Muhammad and hence she chose the elderly al-Hakam. Al-Hajjaj had obviously offered his sister the choice of Muhammad, the next eligible young man he could think of, but having known the mind of the lady he married her to al-Hakam.²⁴

(ii) *Fathenama* records another story how al-Hajjaj gave his own daughter in marriage to Muhammad. A reporter is quoted to the effect that once Muhammad was told by 'Hajjaj' that he wanted him to be a great man and that Muhammad could ask for any favour from him (Hajjaj). Muhammad replied that Hajjaj should make him a 'Chief'²⁵ and also give him his daughter in marriage. Thereupon, 'Hajjaj' angrily struck him with a stick on his head dislodging his turban. 'Hajjaj' put the same question a second time and Muhammad gave the same answer suffering another blow on his head. 'Hajjaj' then repeated the same question a third time and Muhammad again repeated his first request. Thereupon, 'Hajjaj' said to him: “I shall give you my daughter so that you may become the Chief and lead the army either against Iran or India, acquire riches, conquer those countries and fortify them.”²⁶

The above story, which is inconsistent with the dignified character of Muhammad and, besides, attempts to anticipate Muhammad's

23. al-'Aghani, VI 27.

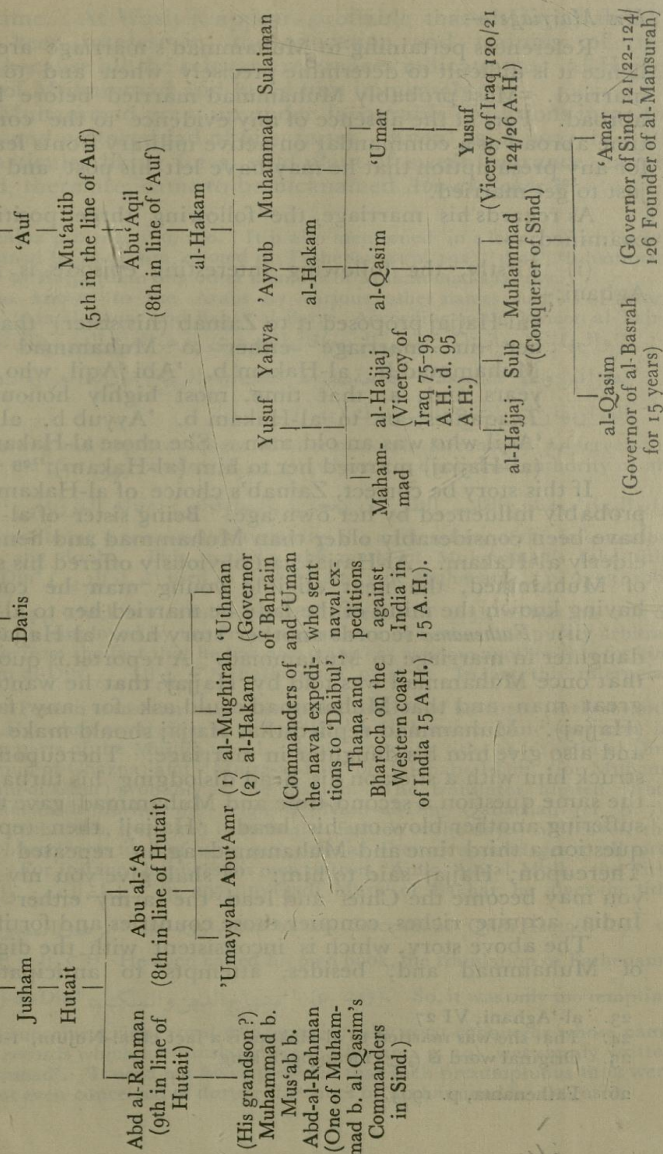
24. That she was married to al-Hakam is a fact cf. al-Nujum, 1-233.

25. Original word is (شاه) meaning 'a king'

26. *Fathenama*, p. 1904.

Thaqif

(11th in line of 'Adnan)



exploits in Iran and India, appears to be a concocted one. It is put in the mouth of some unknown person belonging to the tribe of Banu Tamim who is said to have heard it from one Yazid b. Kinanah (?)—a name that cannot be traced and is, in all probability, a fictitious one. It is also doubtful whether al-Hajjaj had any daughter at all. Ibn Hazm, one of the best authorities on Arab genealogies, mentions only four sons—namely Muhammad, 'Abd-al-Malik, 'Aban and Sulaiman—among the children of Al-Hajjaj.²⁷ Moreover, no other source except the same *Fathnama* which, in turn is followed by Firishta and M'asumi, mentions Muhammad as the "son-in-law of Hajjaj".²⁸ The writer has not come across any Arabic work containing any such reference. Therefore, in the absence of any other reliable evidence, the story of Muhammad's marriage with al-Hajjaj's daughter needs to be discounted.

(iii) The third story about Muhammad's marriage is also to be found in *Fathnama*. According to this story, after Dahar, the ruler of Sind, was killed, his wife Ladi was captured among the prisoners of war. Muhammad intended to ransom her and, hence, wrote for special permission to al-Hajjaj who forwarded his request to the Caliph al-Walid. The request was granted and the decision communicated to Muhammad who ransomed her and took her as his wife.²⁹ In another report of *Fathnama* Ladi herself is said to have recounted the whole story how she was rescued from the battle-field and finally ransomed by Muhammad who took her as his wife.³⁰

All this information given in *Fathnama* is not corroborated by any other source.³¹ Besides, another report about Ladi given in the same source contradicts the earlier reports about Ladi's capture. It may also be pointed out here that the translator of *Fathnama* has, apart from his translation of the original Arabic record, included in his translation quite a few tales with local colour which, in the absence of any independent corroboration, are mostly dubious in character. This one also appears to be of the same nature. For, according to the same source, al-Hajjaj was very fond of Muhammad and gave him his own daughter in marriage. In that case it would have been improper for Muhammad—who besides, would not have been audacious enough—to write to al-Hajjaj for permission to ransom Ladi in order to take her as his second wife.

Perhaps the best clue regarding Muhammad's marriage is to be found in the verses of the poet Rubah b. al-Ajjaj', which are a part of his long *Urjuzah* in which he has eulogized Muhammad's son, al-Qasim.³² In substance, the poet, addressing al-Qasim, says:

Any day, I will stand by you as I belong to the people of Sa'd

27. See Ibn Hazm, p. 255.

28. *Fathnama*, p. 94 followed by Firishta (IV/403) and M'asumi (p. 21).

29. *Fathnama*, p. 185; see also p. 222.

30. *Ibid* p. 186.

31. *Ibid*, pp. 206-207.

32. *Vide infra* under the section on Muhammad's descendants.

b. Zaid who are your allies. Moreover, they are also your close relatives, being the maternal uncles of your family. They are both rich and brave and among them your position is high like a helmet.³³

What is important from the point of the present discussion is the poet's reference to the people of Sa'd b. Zaid to whom the poet himself belonged and who were also the maternal uncles of al-Qasim's family. By Sa'd b. Zaid the poet evidently means the Banu Sa'd b. Zaid Manat b. Tamim, a main branch of Banu Tamim to which also belonged the poet himself.³⁴

To this branch of Banu Tamim, therefore, belonged the maternal uncles of al-Qasim's family. The actual words, however, are (أخوال أبائك) which literally mean the maternal uncles of your parents, grandparents etc., although in a general sense they also mean the maternal uncles of your family. In case the maternal uncles of al-Qasim himself were also from this branch of Banu Tamim, it means that al-Qasim's father, i.e., our Muhammad b. al-Qasim, had married from the Banu Sa'd family. This, in fact, was actually the case; for, "says Abu Muhammad; I have seen a verse in his (i.e. the poet Rubah's) other *Qasida* rhyming in the letter (السين) in which he means that the maternal uncles of al-Qasim b. Muhammad are from the Banu Sa'd branch of Banu Tamim."³⁵ This quotation is from al-Khatib al-Tabrizi's notes on

33. See *Diwan* of Rubah (pp. 57-63), verses 193-197 from the poet's long *urjuzah* of 224 verses rhyming in (الراء) and opening with the verses.

قلت وقد أقصر جهل الأمور

ما في غدا أني أمرو من معشر ١٩٣

يغدون انصارك يوم النصر ١٩٣

و هم على رغم العداة الزفر ١٩٥

أخوال أبائك في المجد الثرى ١٩٦

سعد بن زيد في الصميم الدوسر ١٩٤

34. The poet R'ubah b. al-Ajjaj was from this main branch as he belonged to its sub-branch of ' Banu Sa'd b. Malik b. Sa'd Zaid Manat b. Tamim:—Cf 'Ibn Hazm p. 204 and Ibn Duraid, p. 159.

35. After commenting upon the poet's verses

وهم على رغم العداة الزفر

أخوال أبائك في المجد الثرى

al-Tabrizi (p. 68 observes:

" قال أبو محمد (ابن السيرافي) ! وقد رأت له قصيدة سينية فيها البيت ،، ما وجدوا

عند التكالك الدوسر "يريد أن القاسم بن محمد له حؤولة في بني سعد بن تميم، (راجع حاشية

كتاب تهذيب الالفاظ، ص ٦٨)

Kitab Tahdhib al-Alfaz, which is his own revised edition of *Kitab-al-alfaz* of Ibn Sikkit. Abu Muhammad, whom he quotes is no less an authority than the famous scholar and linguist Ibn al-Sirafi. This statement therefore, provides almost conclusive proof that Muhammad had married from the "Banu Sa'd family (of the Banu Tamim) to which belonged the maternal uncles of his son, al-Qasim. As the poet Rubah belonged to the same family' it is obvious that by Banu Sa'd is meant the family of Sa'd b. Malik b. Sa'd b. Zaid Manat b. Tamim.³⁶

His Career :—

Muhammad's conquest of Sind was such a memorable event that historians, including modern ones, have recognized *that* as the beginning and the end of his career. Indeed, Muhammad's conquest of Sind marked a climax in his career but it is surprising that his not less spectacular achievements prior to his march against Sind should have escaped the attention of almost all modern historians.

A. Muhammad's achievements in Persia

Quite some time before his march against Sind, Muhammad had been entrusted with a special commission in Persia by al-Hajjaj. This was his first appointment, the beginning of his career. This and other tasks accomplished by him in Persia are listed below in, what the writer is inclined to think to be, their chronological sequence.

(i) *Expedition against the Kurds* : It appears that by about 90-91 A.H.³⁷ the powerful and untractable Kurdish tribes in the province of Fars had either risen in revolt, or, due to their marauding raids, become a serious menace to law and order in general and the safety of Muslim supply lines in particular. There was an urgent need to subjugate them and al-Hajjaj entrusted this task to young Muhammad. This important information is preserved by such a trustworthy authority as Ibn Qutaiba who reports this appointment of Muhammad on the authority of Abu Yaqzan. Young Muhammad who at the time of this appointment was, as we shall see, below sixteen, conducted this military expedition most successfully. In the words of Ibn Qutaiba, "he completely annihilated" the Kurds.³⁸

(ii) *Foundation of Shiraz* :—After his subjugation of the Kurds, it appears that along with the military matters pertaining to this front, Muhammad was also entrusted with the civil administration of the country by being appointed to the Governorship of Fars. Although the Arab armies had long since completely liquidated the forces of the Sassanid Emperor, not

36. See the footnote preceding the previous one.

37. For this presumption, see the concluding remarks on Muhammad's achievements in Persia.

38. Ibn Qutaiba: *Uyun*, I/229.

enough attention had till then been paid to an effective administrative organization of this vast region*. The one great drawback, in this connection, was that the Arab commanders had not given adequate attention to the establishment of any permanent settlements on the soil of Persia, which would have served as the nerve centres for an effective administration of this vast country. To Muhammad goes the credit for having conceived such a plan and given his primary attention to this problem.

He seems to have carefully explored the possibilities of choosing a strategic site which could serve the purpose of a permanent garrison town as well as an administrative centre for Fars, and finally decided upon an 'old' but hitherto obscure place which afterwards came to be called Shiraz.³⁹ Hitherto, this place had been an advanced military camp for the Muslim armies for their onward assault on the town of Istakhar. It was after the conquest of Istakhar that Muhammad chose it as the site for the future capital of Persia.⁴⁰ Here Muhammad *planned* and built a *new town*,⁴¹ made it the permanent military base as well as the residence for the Governors of Persia,⁴² and fixed here the headquarters for the military commanders and also established a secretariat for Persia.⁴³

* It may here be pointed out that the deterioration in the organization of Government set in during the period between the death of Muawiyah and the appointment of al-Hajjaj.

39. We have used the word 'old' only to accommodate the viewpoints of two writers against a score of others, namely al-Maqdisi and al-Mustaufi who have ascribed its foundation to such legendary figures in Persian lore as 'Shiraz sfo Fars' (al-Maqdisi, p. 423) and 'Tahmurath' (al-Mustaufi, *Nuzhat*, Persian Text p. 114/English Translation, p. 113).

40. Cf. al-Istakhari (p. 124), and Ibn Hauqal (p. 196) who, in turn, is followed by al-Qalqashandi (IV/344).

41. All the authoritative accounts are unanimous on this point that Shiraz was founded as a *new town* under Islam by Muhammad b. al-Qasim. Cf. al-Istakhari, p. 124; Ibn Hauqal, p. 196; al-Qalqashandi (IV/344) and Abu al-Fida (Taqwim-al-Buldan) both quoting Ibn Hauqal; Yaqut under (شیراز); and *Mujmil-al-Tawarikh*, p. 525. Yaqut particularly refers to its *planning* *اختطاطها* and build-

ing project. Some Persian historians have, however, confused the name of Muhammad b. al-Qasim with that of Muhammad b. Yusuf whom, they think al-Hajjaj had appointed over Persia and that he built Shiraz (vide *Farsnamah* pp. 132, 169 & 170; *Nuzhat* Persian Text p. 114/English Translation p. 113). This is obviously a mistake on their part. For, Muhammad b. Yusuf was al-Hajjaj's brother whom the latter had appointed, from the very beginning, as the Governor of Yemen, and he occupied that post till he died there (Cf. al-Mubarrad, p. 292) in the year 90 A.H. (Cf. Ibn Kathir under the year 90 A.H.) Moreover, *Nuzhat* mentions the founding of Shiraz by Muhammad b. Yusuf in 74 A.H. which is obviously wrong because he was given the governor's post by al-Hajjaj after the latter became the Viceroy of Iraq in 75 A.H.

42. Ibn Qutaiba: *Uyun*, 1/229.

43. al-Istakhari, p. 124 & Ibn Hauqal, p. 196. According to al-Maqdisi, Shiraz was, from the point of revenue administration, under the jurisdiction of Istakhar (p. 423).

The new capital soon developed into a boom town, and its market captured the entire regional trade. "All the merchandise of the region was brought to this place but did not leave it for any other place and, hence, it was called 'Sher-az,' having been compared to the 'lion's stomach!'"⁴⁴

According to the author of *Farsnamah*, besides the foundation of Shiraz, many other building projects were planned and completed throughout Fars.⁴⁵ Due to these constructive measures the volume of trade increased, and the general economic position of the country improved to such an extent that "the total revenues together with the boat tax of 10 % shot up to thirty million dirhams."⁴⁶ As regards the administrative policy, the same author (of *Farsnama*) records al-Hajjaj's words in which he seems to have defined the general policy which was to be followed by Muhammad⁴⁷ in Persia. Said al-Hajjaj:

"The people of Fars are a virile people and they cannot be subjugated but by two types of hands: the one which makes the blood flow, and the other which makes the money flow"⁴⁸.

However, Muhammad seems to have followed still a third alternative of his own: that is, building up a strategically strong capital as a nerve centre for an efficient administration.

(iii) *Other Military Expeditions and Conquests* :—The foundation of Shiraz, which now provided a safe, strong and strategic base for the army, seems to have enabled Muhammad to carry out his military operations on this front more successfully. He subjugated the regions south-east of Sabur and extending towards the Indian boundaries of Sindhian Mukran, and also the region lying eastward of Jurjan and extending towards China. This is confirmed by Muhammad's own words expressed in his verses through which he gave vent to his injured feelings when he was later on imprisoned during the reign of Sulaiman:

Have the Banu Marwan forgotten my faithful allegiance to them while I forbear to mention that of which I have been deprived? I conquered for them the region of Sabur (extending) towards India, with spear—by means of attacking and raiding; I conquered for them with spear the region of Jurjan

44. al-Istakhari, p. 122 and Ibn-Hauqal, p. 196, who is followed by al-Qalqashandi IV/344. This appears to be the correct position about the name of Shiraz even on a philological basis and it explodes the myth of its having been founded by such legendary figures as 'Shiraz s/o Fars' or 'Tahmurath'.

45. *Farsnamah*, p. 170

46. *Loz. cit.* The author, however, erroneously assigns all these achievements to Muhammad b. Yusuf which is obviously a mistake. See supra, p. 11, fn. 3

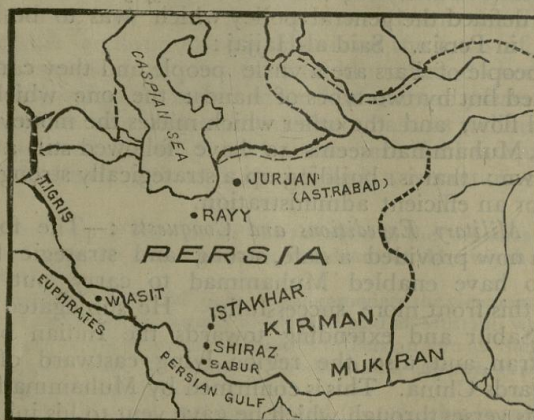
47. The author of *Farsnamah* has again confused the appointment of Muhammad b. al-Qasim in Persia with that of al-Hajjaj's brother Muhammad b. Yusuf who was the Governor of Yemen and remained there till his death. Therefore, when the author says that al-Hajjaj made this statement to Muhammad b. Yusuf who was proceeding to Persia, it is to be safely presumed that it was made to Muhammad b. al-Qasim

48. *Farsnamah*, p. 169.

(extending) towards China, (Through the strategy of) attacking at times and halting at times.⁴⁹

That Muhammad was particularly conscious of his military achievements in Persia, where he had either exacted submission from many powerful elements or crushed them altogether, is further confirmed by other verses of his also composed by him in prison:

Although I remain (imprisoned) at Wasit on its soil,
Fettered in irons-shackled and manacled;
Many a Persian bravado held me in awe,
And many of my equals did I knock down dead.⁵⁰



(iv) *Expedition against Rayy*:—It appears that these successful military achievements of Muhammad impressed al-Hajjaj so much that he now entrusted him with still a more important task. He was appointed as Commander-in-Chief to lead a powerful military expedition for the conquest of the distant province of Rayy. It appears that Muhammad had organized his forces, made all the preparations and already dispatched his vanguards under the able command of Jahm b. Zahr al-Ju'fi. He

49. al-Marzubani, p. 412.

أَتَسِي بنو مروان سمعي و طاعتي - و أُنِي على مافاتني لصبور

فتحت لهم ما بين سابور بالقنا - إلى الهند منهم زاحف و مغير

فتحت لهم ما بين جرجان بالقنا - إلى الصين أبقي مرة و أغير

50. al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 441/Egypt ed. p. 428; Ibn al-Athir, IV/282 (under the year 95)

فلئن ثويت بواسط و بار ضها - رهن الحديد مكبلا مغلول لا

فلرب فتية فارس قدرعتها - و لرب قرن قد تركت قتيلًا

himself was about to march from Shiraz when Al-Hajjaj changed his plans, and invested him with the command of the Sind Front and also ordered Jahm b. Zahr to return forthwith and join Muhammad.⁵¹ For six months more Muhammad had to wait at Shiraz⁵² till all the preparations were completed.⁵³ He left Shiraz and marched towards Sind in the latter half of 92 A.H.⁵⁴ At this time he was only seventeen years old as will be seen hereafter.

But here we may pause to consider how long Muhammad had been in Fars. In other words, how long it might have taken Muhammad to accomplish the above-mentioned tasks, besides any others that may not have been recorded by the historians. This is a matter for conjecture but even a conservative estimate of time taken for the subjugation of the Kurds, the founding of Shiraz and organizing the governmental machinery there, the subjugation of the Sabur region, the conquest of the more distant Jurjan region, and planning and preparing the powerful expedition against Rayy, would be about two years at least. Hence, it may not be wrong to presume that most probably Muhammad was appointed in Fars by about 90-91 A.H. when he was approximately 15 years old.

B. Muhammad's achievements in Sind :—

The persistent aggression of the Sindian rulers both on land and sea had become a real problem for the Viceroy of Iraq who was in charge of the entire Eastern Front of the Umayyid Empire. However, it was a difficult problem to solve. On land, the Arab armies had had a difficult time in Persian Mukran facing the forces of the Persian satraps XX and also the Sindian army at the same time, particularly when their supply line from Iraq was very long and not completely secure. On the other hand the Arab naval power was not yet strong enough to organize a powerful invasion of Sind by sea. However, al-Hajjaj, the energetic Viceroy of Iraq, being moved by the pitiable condition of the helpless Arab women and children who were attacked and taken prisoners by the Sindian

51. al-Baladhuri Europe ed. p. 436/Egypt ed. p. 224.

52. al-Yaqubi, II/345.

53. Cf. al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 436/Egypt ed. p. 424; also see Fathnama, p. 98.

54. al-Yaqubi (II-345) who is one of the best authorities on Sind history, says that al-Hajjaj dispatched Muhammad to Sind in 92 A.H. According to Fathnama, when all the preparations were completed and Muhammad was about to march towards Sind "ninety two years had passed of the Hijra era" (p. 99). However, the subsequent chronological details of Muhammad's march towards, and conquest of Sind preserved in Fathnama prove that the ninety-second year of the Hijra had not yet ended when Muhammad marched from Shiraz. For, he arrived at Debal in Sind in Muharram (the first month of), 93 A.H. (p. 102), after having spent quite a few months in his long march through, and conquest of, Mukran. (Cf. al-Yaqubi, II-345; Ibn al-Athir, IV-257 under the year 89). It is, therefore, obvious that he must have started from Shiraz early in the latter half of 92 A.H.

pirates, had already risked two small naval expeditions of a punitive nature against the Sindian coast but, due to un-favourable circumstances, both had failed. Now, he had finally decided to conquer and annex Sind by a powerful land invasion and selected Muhammad b. al-Qasim to accomplish this arduous task.

This was, indeed, a bold step, considering the fact that such an important military mission should have been entrusted to young Muhammad who was only seventeen years old. There can be no doubt that the shrewd Viceroy had well judged the competency of Muhammad for this undertaking on the basis of the latter's brilliant achievements in Persia. This momentous decision of the Viceroy further raised Muhammad's prestige in the estimation of contemporary public opinion which particularly marvelled at such an honour being bestowed upon Muhammad at the young age of seventeen. al-Hamza b. Beed al-Hanafi, a well-known contemporary poet,⁵⁵ eulogized Muhammad's appointment in the following verses which became memorable in the annals of Arab history :—⁵⁶

To Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad belong
(The noble qualities of) manliness, forbearance and generosity ;
He managed the armies at the age of seventeen !
What a close relationship of authority with a son of man !

These verses, apart from mentioning some of the basic traits of Muhammad's personality also confirm the fact of his having commanded

55. حمزة بن بيض الحنفي was one of the well-known poets of the Umayyid period who died in 120 A.H. For further particulars of him see al-Aghani, Vol. 15 pp. 14-26 al-Amidi p. 106; al-Kutbi, Fawat, I-188; al-Askari, I-11; Abu Hayyan III.185; Ibn Asakir IV-440; al-Nuwairi IV 81; and al-Taj under بيض

56 Cf. al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 441/Egypt ed. p. 428; *Fathnama* p. 94; Ibn al-Athir, IV/282; al-Yaqubi II-357; Ibn Qutaiba '*Uyun*' I-229; al-Marzubani (who gives the first verse differently) p. 482. The translation is based on the following text of the verses as given by al-Baladhuri, Ibn Qutaiba and Ibn al-Athir:—

ان المروعة والساحة والندي - لمحمد بن القاسم بن محمد
ساس الجيوش لسبع عشرة حجة - يا قرب ذلك سوداد من مولد

According to *Fathnama* (p. 94), the poet composed these verses congratulating Muhammad "on his appointment over India". According to Ibn al-Athir (IV-282), the poet Hamza composed these verses mourning the tragic death of Muhammad. This seems to be the correct view because al-Baladhuri has also quoted these verses after mentioning how Muhammad, along with other *Thaqafites*, had been tortured to death.

57 Cf. al-Yaqubi II-347 & Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyun*, I-299, both of whom quote these verses with reference to Muhammad's assumption of the command of the forces for the conquest of Sind. In al-Yaqubi's version, Muhammad's age is given still lower i.e. 'fifteen years' (قادالجيوش لخمس عشرة حجة)

the armies for the conquest of distant Sind when he was only seventeen years old. This is also corroborated by the verses of another contemporary poet who said :

He governed men at the age of seventeen,
When his peers were busy with other things :
Their (petty) desires had pulled them down
While he was raised by kingly ambitions and knightly strength.⁵⁸

Muhammad's military and administrative achievements in Sind are fully recorded in *Fathnama* and other Arab histories. Modern scholars have also written a good deal upon the subject, and even though much remains to be said, the scope of this paper does not permit a detailed study of this otherwise interesting subject.

Briefly it may, however, be pointed out that the duration of Muhammad's mission to Sind was about three and a half years, extending from the latter half of 92 A. H. (May-Oct. 711 A.D.) when he marched from Shiraz towards Sind to Sha'ban 96 A.H. (April, 715 A.D.) when he was imprisoned by his successor. During this period he conquered the whole of Mukran, stormed the important seaport of "al-Daibul" and conquered the entire lower Indus Valley, from the port of Debal to Aror (near Rohri), the capital of Dahar, the ruler of Sind, who was defeated and killed on the battle-field (10th Ramadan 93 A.H./June 712 A.D.) Advancing northwards, Muhammad conquered the whole province of Multan which extended to the southern boundaries of Kashmir. Returning to Aror, he sent armies against the rulers of Rajputana who submitted and concluded peace treaties with him. Kathiawar also submitted the important kingdom of Saurashtra having concluded a peace treaty. Muhammad now advanced towards Gujrat and having routed Raja *Dahar*, conquered his capital town of Kaira. Apart from these military conquests, Muhammad organized the entire civil administration of Sind and Multan: new settlements were established, all the important towns were garrisoned, and the revenue system was fully organized. Only a genius like Muhammad could have accomplished these difficult tasks at that time within a short span of three and a half years.

58 ساس الرجال لسبع عشرة حجة - ولداته عن ذاك في أشغال
تعبدت بهم أهواءهم وسمت به - همم الملك وسورة الابطال

The first line is quoted by al-Baladhuri (Europe ed. p. 441/Egypt ed. p. 428) and Ibn al-Athir (IV/282). al-Marzubani (p. 412) quotes both the lines saying that these were composed either by the poet "Ziyad al-A'jam or some one else" His version of the first hemistich of the first verse reads: (قادة الجيوش لخمس عشرة

(He led the armies at the age of fifteen). حجة)

Muhammad's death :—

It is an irony of fate that Muhammad was made to suffer for the sins of al-Hajjaj. According to the will of succession made by Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik (685-705 A.D.), his son al-Walid (705-15 A.D.) was to succeed him, and his second son Sulaiman was to succeed al-Walid. But when al-Walid became Caliph he wanted to change the order of succession, replacing his brother Sulaiman with his own son. Al-Hajjaj openly supported al-Walid in his designs, and had Al-Hajjaj lived longer, Sulaiman would probably not have succeeded to the Caliphate. But Al-Hajjaj soon died and Caliph al-Walid was not able to secure the succession for his own son. So when al-Walid died, and Sulaiman as Caliph became all-powerful, he determined to wreak vengeance upon all those who had in any way supported the late Caliph in his plans. Since the main supporter, Al-Hajjaj was already dead, Sulaiman pounced upon his relatives, and almost all the members of Abu 'Aqil's family (to which Al-Hajjaj belonged) became the target of his wrath.

Muhammad b. al-Qasim was the most prominent member of the ill-starred family, and besides, he had been a great favourite of Al-Hajjaj⁵⁹ and also was his cousin's son, and, therefore, was specially singled out to bear the brunt of the new Caliph's wrath. So, when Sulaiman became the Caliph (Jumada II, 96 A.H.), Muhammad was dismissed from his post and Yazid b. Abi Kabsha al-Saksaki was appointed as the new Governor of Sind. Accompanying him was Muawiyah (the brother of the Caliph's favourite, Yazid b. Muhallab, an antagonist of Al-Hajjaj, who had now been appointed as the Viceroy of Iraq) and another officer belonging to the family of 'Akk, and they were both sent to assist the new Sind Governor in arresting Muhammad and bringing him back to Iraq. In Sind, Muhammad had under his command large and strong army besides his trusted and tried generals, to all of whom he had endeared himself by his unique qualities of leadership and, therefore, was unquestionably in a position to defy any orders from the centre, had he chosen to do so. But this noble and disciplined man, who believed in law and order, put up no resistance despite the high-handedness of the new arrivals, and submitted himself to arrest in the hope that he would be shown due consideration. But, after his arrest he was imprisoned and treated with vengeance as is evident from the following verses of his in which he gave vent to his extremely injured feelings :⁶⁰

Had I resolved to make a firm stand, then surely

A number of men and women prepared for war would have perished;

⁵⁹ Cf. *Fathnama*, pp. 103, 189-190 & 192.

⁶⁰ Quoted by al-Baladhuri (Europe ed. p. 441/Egypt ed. p. 428), Ibn al-Athir (IV/282), and also by al-Marzubani (p. 412) with some variations.

And neither the cavalry of the Saksakis would have trampled my army, Nor a man of 'Akk (tribe)⁶¹ would have stood over my head. And never had I been subjected to a Mazuni slave (i.e. Muawiyah);

But woe be to you oh misfortune! and your blows to noble men!

After his arrest, Muhammad was taken by Muawiyah to 'Iraq where he was handed over to Salih b. Abd-al-Rahman whom the new Caliph had appointed as the Revenue Officer of 'Iraq. As Salih had a personal grudge against al-Hajjaj who had executed his brother 'Adam,⁶² he imprisoned Muhammad at Wasit⁶³ and tortured him along with the other members of the Abu 'Aqil family till he killed them all.⁶⁴ This tragedy occurred sometime after April 715 A.D.⁶⁵

Muhammad's Descendants:

So far as the present writer, has been able to ascertain Muhammad b. al-Qasim had at least two sons, 'Amr and al-Qasim, both of whom

⁶¹ The 'Akk tribe belonged to the stock of 'Azd of the Qahtanid Arabs According to Ibn Duraid (p. 287).

”ومن عبدالله بن الازد بنو قرن وعد - نان فولد عدنان عكا فمن نسب عكا فهذه نسبة“

⁶² al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. 441/Egypt ed. 428 & Ibn al-Athir IV-282

⁶³ Cf. Ibn al-Athir IV-282. This is also corroborated by Muhammad's verse (فلئن ثويت بواسط و بارضها) already quoted. Also see al-Marzubani, p. 412.

⁶⁴ al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 441-Egypt ed. p. 428; Ibn al-Athir IV-282; and al-Marzubani, p. 413. Ibn Khallikan (II-271) has pointed out that "Caliph Sulaiman appointed Salih b. 'Abd-al-Rahman as the Revenue Officer of Iraq and also ordered him to kill all the (male) members of Abu Aqil's family. He, therefore, used to torture them (in order to kill them) and Abd-al-Malik son of al-Muhallab (brother of the newly appointed Viceroy of Iraq), Yazid was in charge of torturing them." Muhammad perished in this torture. This is the true story about the tragic end of Muhammad as given by al-Baladhuri and Ibn al-Athir, and (therefore, al-Marzubani's view, p. 413) that Muhammad was done to death by Muawiyah himself, is probably not correct. Muhammad perished at the hands of Muawiyah's brother Abd-al-Malik who, as pointed out by Ibn Khallikan, was in charge of torturing the members of Abu Aqil's family.

It is needless to emphasise that the story of Muhammad's death as given in *Fathnama* (pp. 243-257) is not only contrary to facts but is an entirely concocted one. It is undoubtedly an interpolation by the Persian translator into this otherwise authentic record of the Arab conquest of Sind.

⁶⁵ Sulaiman became the Caliph in Jumada II-96 A.H.-February 16 March 16, 715 A.D.) and as he was seeking vengeance, Muhammad was probably dismissed immediately and Yazid b. Abi Kabsha appointed in his place as the new Governor of Sind. Allowing a maximum period of two months for the new Governor's preparation and arrival in Sind, Muhammad's arrest could not have been effected earlier than April 715 A.D. It is not known on what date Muhammad actually succumbed at the hands of his torturer, but as he was tortured with vengeance, he might have died in the same year i.e. in 715 A.D.

distinguished themselves as prominent administrators. Their stars began to shine when their father's cousin, Yusuf b. 'Umar, became Viceroy of 'Iraq (738-743 A.D.) about twenty-three years after the death of their father.

'Amr, like his father Muhammad distinguished himself as a military commander in Sind under the governorship of al-Hakam b. 'Awana al-Kalbi. His victories on the Katchh and Gujrat front were so great that, in order to commemorate them, Al-Hakam entrusted 'Amr with the task of founding the city of al-Mansurah which became the new capital of the Arab Government in Sind. When al-Hakam died, 'Amr succeeded him as the Governor of Sind in Safar, 122 A.H. (January, 740 A.D.) and carried on his able administration of this vast country for nearly four and a half years till he fell a prey to the intrigues of his opponents and was murdered by them secretly in the prison at al-Mansurah about Rajab (?) 126 A.H. i.e. May (?) 744 A.D.⁶⁶

Muhammad's second son, al-Qasim, was appointed as the Governor of al-Basrah by Yusuf b. 'Umar, the Viceroy of 'Iraq (738-743 A.D.), which post he occupied for five years and some months⁶⁷ during the reign of Caliph Hisham (724-743 A.D.).⁶⁸ The very fact that he held this important post for more than five years shows that he was an able administrator. The following verses of the contemporary poet, Rubah b. al-'Ajjaj, who eulogized him in a long *urjuzah*, testify to al-Qasim's noble character, admirable personal traits, and great administrative ability:

- (149) Oh Qasim! By your insight and perception
- (150) You are able to form sound judgment based on reason,
- (167) And you have the character of a noble and dignified man,
- (168) Always having (the qualities of) consideration,
- (169) Leniency, caution and carefulness
- (170) Till the evil of the worst times gets fully dispelled . . .
- (207) Oh virtuous Qasim-the son of the virtuous one!
- (208) No governor governed us like thyself.⁶⁹

An Overall Appraisal:

Abu al-Bahar Muhammad b. al-Qasim was born by about 75 A.H. (May 694-April 695 A.D.) at the green oasis town of al-Taif and was probably educated at al-Taif, al-Basrah and Wasit. As his father had

⁶⁶ Conclusions based upon the researches of the writer on the History of Sind during the Arab period.

⁶⁷ *al-Uyun wa al-Hadaiq*, 1111/104.

⁶⁸ *Ibid* 111/109.

⁶⁹ The preceding numerals indicate the serial number of verses from the poet's long *urjuzah* (a kind of poem composed in a short metre) of 224 verses, which begins with (قلت وقد أقصر جهل الأمور) - vide Rubah's *Diwan*, pp. 57-63.

been appointed Governor of al-Basrah, young Muhammad probably had his education at this most prominent intellectual, cultural and military centre of the Muslim world at that time. Thus, Muhammad grew up in favourable circumstances into an able, educated and cultured lad of fine taste. Even as a boy, as has been mentioned above he had developed a special liking for a wild plant of sweet fragrance called al-Bahar, and, hence came to be nicknamed "Abu al-Bahar" ('Father of Bahar'). It was probably due to his sound education and impressive personality that young Muhammad attracted the attention of his father's cousin al-Hajjaj, the powerful Viceroy of Iraq, who entrusted him with an important military mission in Persia by about 90-91 A.H. (709-10 A.D.) when Muhammad was hardly fifteen or sixteen years old. This was the starting point of Muhammad's career.

His achievements in Persia indicate that Muhammad combined in himself the genius of a military commander with that of a civil administrator. He not only conducted the various military expeditions successfully but also organized the civil administration of Persia. Besides, being in the prime of his youth, he had stores of energy in him and hence was able to accomplish a number of tasks in a very short period of his office in Persia. He directed military expeditions against the intractable Kurdish tribes and crushed their revolts; conducted military operations in the region of Sabur and conquered it; led his army to distant parts of Jurjan and subjugated them; built the strategic town of Shiraz, raised it to the status of the capital of the new government and promoted its economic development; and lastly, having been given the command of conquering the distant province of Rayy, he organized his forces, made all preparations and dispatched his vanguards towards Rayy. All this was accomplished by him within a short period of about two years, from 90-91 A.H. to the middle of 92 A.H. (709-10 to April 711 A.D.)

In the early month of the latter half of 92 A.H. (May-Oct. 711 A.D.) when he was about 17 years old, Muhammad was entrusted with the most challenging task of conquering Sind. A study of his well-planned campaign in Sind once again testifies to Muhammad's genius both as a military commander and as a farsighted civil administrator. Every military manoeuvre and attack of his was preceded by careful planning. He never proceeded further until each victory had been consolidated through the setting up of an effective administration of the conquered town and region-an important step, which, in turn, ensured the safety of his supply line. This is fully borne out by his conquest of "al-Daibul",⁷⁰ Nerun, Schwan, Brahmanabad, Hirawal (Halani?), Aror (the capital of Sind) and Multan.⁷¹ Secondly, by following a policy of friendship and

⁷⁰ al-Baladhuri Europe ed, p. 437-Egypt ed, p. 425; Ibn al-'Athir, IV-258; and Fathnama, p. 109.

⁷¹ Vide Fathnama pp. 118, 120, 208-11, 217-18, 235 & 241.

forgiveness towards the vanquished⁷² he won over the confidence of the local population. Even the minister of Dahar-his main adversary-was forgiven by Muhammad and taken into his confidence.⁷³ Thirdly, though he invariably placed his own able and energetic Arab officers as responsible administrative heads everywhere, his administrative genius enabled him to follow a general policy of confirming under them, the local officers of the previous government as well as recruiting the new ones from the indigenous population.⁷⁴ At Brahmanabad, he entrusted the revenue work exclusively to a committee of four Brahmins chosen from the business community but he strictly defined for them the policy that they were to follow:

You shall preserve friendship between the people and the authorities; if anything is to be divided, you shall distribute it in equal measure; you shall fix revenue in accordance with the paying capacity of each individual; you must remain united among yourselves and be not perplexed lest the administration of the country be spoiled.⁷⁵

This important policy statement of Muhammad shows that he did not want to rule with the iron hand of a conqueror. He was rather an XXX enlightened administrator who was primarily concerned with the welfare of the people, anxious to build up the most cordial relations and mutual confidence between the people and the Government. This he wanted to achieve by making the administration, as far as possible, a

72. *Vide Fathnama* pp. 108-110 (at Debal), 117-18 & 13 (at Nerun), 122 (at Budhiya), 157 & 165 (towards Raja Rasal), 177 (at the time of battle with Dahar), 205 & 207-208 (at Brahmanabad), & 227 (at Aror).

73. *Fathnama*, p. 200.

74. At Debal, he confirmed the local Brahman officers in their various posts (*Fathnama* pp. 209-10) but also simultaneously settled a large Arab population and appointed one of his officers as the administrative head (cf. al-Baladhuri Europe ed. p. 439/Egypt ed. p. 426); he was Humaid b. Wida al-Najadi according to *Fathnama* (p. 109). At Sehwan, he appointed the local princes in various posts but put his own deputies in charge of general administration (*Fathnama*, p. 120). At Budhiya, he appointed 'Abd-al-Malik b. Qais al-Dhe'bi. Afterwards, when Muhammad effected a general administrative reorganization (at Brahmanabad), 'Abd-al-Malik al-Dhe'bi and Khalid Ansari were entrusted with the administration of the entire Sehwan region (*Ibid*, pp. 123 & 218). Similarly, Nubah b. Daris was appointed at Rawar and he was also to control the lower Indus river traffic, while Ibn Ziyad al-'Abdi was appointed to control the upper Indus river traffic (*Ibid*, pp. 217-18). Hanzala was appointed at Dahlela (*Ibid* p. 218). Mas'ud Tamimi and other six officers were to organize the administration and defence of the provinces of Debal and Nerun; Malih was to govern Ishbahar while 'Ulwan and Qais were to organize the settlement of 300 Arab families there (*Ibid* p. 218). Subsequently, at Hirawal in northern Sind, he put 'Amr b. Mukhtar al-Akbar al-Hanafi in-charge of the defence, and appointed Sulaiman b. Nabhan, Abu Fiddah al-Qushairi and other Arab officers to various administrative posts in this region (*Ibid*, p. 220).

75. *Fathnama*, p. 211.

local affair by encouraging local participation in the various administrative functions. This enlightened administrative policy was mainly responsible for his successive victories in his vast and well-planned campaign in north-west India. By laying the foundations of the new administration in each conquered town on principles of friendship and forgiveness, justice and equality, he forged ahead, leaving an exemplary government behind, with the result that the goodwill of the native population towards him advanced ahead of him, and at the time of each new assault and battle, the local people invariably supported him against their own incapable and autocratic rulers. His last memorable conquest was that of Kaira, the capital of Gujerat. The sequence of historical events shows that he could not have remained there for a long time, and yet even during his short stay at this important capital of his vanquished but otherwise powerful, adversary Duhar,⁷⁶ or Rai Druhar,⁷⁷ Muhammad had endeared himself to the local people to such an extent that when he was removed from Sind "the people of India wept for him"⁷⁸ and those of Kaira, in particular, were so much grieved that "they painted the portraits of Muhammad"⁷⁹ as a tribute to his memory.

From the political standpoint too, Muhammad's dealings with the vanquished rulers as well as other neighbouring princes reveal a keen insight and understanding on his part of the problems involved in strengthening the power and prestige of the new Arab Government in this sub-continent. It was his main policy to conclude peace treaties with the Sindian princes as well as with the neighbouring Indian rulers. He used force only when and where it was necessary. This policy amply testifies to his political sagacity.

In fact Muhammad had been given a free hand by al-Hajjaj to push forward his conquests through India to China.⁸⁰ Actually, at that time, the ability of the two contemporary generals, Muhammad and the older and more seasoned soldier Qutaiba, was on trial. Qutaiba had been dispatched to the difficult Khurasan Front and Muhammad to the equally difficult Indian Front. Both were expected ultimately to reach China and, according to al-Tabari, each one of them had been promised the Governorship of China.⁸¹ It all depended upon who reached China first. Such a mandate was stimulating enough for the two generals to push forward their conquests at full speed and at all costs. However, the behaviour

76. So (دوهر) in al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 440/Egypt ed. 427-28 and Ibn al-

Athir IV/26.

77. Such (دروهر) is the reading in *Fathnama* (pp. 218 and 228-233).

78. Al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 440/Egypt ed. p. 428 and Ibn al-Athir IV/260.

79. Al-Baladhuri, Europe ed. p. 440/Egypt ed. p. 428.

80. *Fathnama*, p. 216-17.

81. Al-Tabari, I 889. Also see *Fathnama* pp. 216-17 although the text is somewhat confused.

of the two generals shows a clear contrast in their purposes, plans and policies.

Qutaiba actually advanced at a tremendous speed, stormed through Khurasan and Transoxiana, conquered Kashgar, and challenged the Chinese Emperor. But, with Muhammad, personal prestige appears to have been of secondary importance. He was primarily concerned with discharging his responsibilities carefully, and, therefore, he proceeded with his campaign more cautiously. At every stage of his campaign before advancing any further, he tried to consolidate each of his victories by organizing an efficient government in every town and region. Instead of pushing through his conquests by force, he proceeded onwards as a diplomat, winning over the confidence of the local population, and securing the goodwill of the local rulers for the new Arab power. Thus, he concluded peace treaties with the rulers of Bailman (probably Bhinmal) in Rajputana in Kathiawar. Having consolidated his power in almost the whole of North-West India, Muhammad had plans ready to advance into the interior of the sub-continent, and actually sent his emissaries to the Maharaja of Qannauj.⁸² But circumstances conspired against him and he was forced to quit the scene. Had he remained longer, the political complexion of this entire sub-continent might have been changed.

As an Individual :—

The above account has already thrown the historical personality of Muhammad into bold relief. Now we shall advert to some prominent personal traits that he possessed as an individual. (1) The foremost among them was his outstanding *ability for leadership*. Ibn Qutaiba has rightly counted Muhammad among those who distinguish themselves by the qualities of "leadership and perfection at a young age."⁸³ Indeed, Muhammad had a knack for initiative and leadership and the facts of his career prove that he was a born leader. At the age of fifteen or sixteen he had led a successful military expedition against the Kurds in Persia. Before he was seventeen, he had already demonstrated his administrative genius by building the capital town of Shiraz and organizing the civil administration of Persia. At the age of seventeen he assumed the supreme command of the powerful invasion forces of Sind, and the way he conducted his military campaigns in North-West India and organized the civil administration of the country, demonstrate his outstanding ability as a great leader. In this campaign, he had under him, some elderly and experienced commanders such as Sufyan b. al-Abrad al-Kalbi, one of the great generals of the Umayyid period⁸⁴ who

82. *Vide Fathnama*, p. 242.

83. *Vide Ibn Qutaiba*, *Uyun*, I/229 where the account of Muhammad is given under the section entitled "السيادة و الكمال في الحداثة".

84. Ibn Hazm, p. 427.

had fought successful battles against the powerful Kharejites;⁸⁵ Abd-al-Rahman b. Sulaim al-Kalbi, who had served as a commander under al-Hajjaj against Ibn al-Ashath,⁸⁶ became the governor of al-Basrah,⁸⁷ and was known for his straight-forwardness;⁸⁸ Nabatah b. Hanzalah who later on fought pitched battles against the rebel Sulaiman b. Habib b. Muhallab⁸⁹ and became the Governor of Jurjan,⁹⁰ and many others.⁹¹ These were men with varying personal backgrounds and, besides, more experienced than Muhammad. And yet Muhammad was able to hold them together. They could have dominated young Muhammad at least in so far as the conducting of his military campaigns was concerned. But the detailed accounts of battles preserved in *Fathnama* show that Muhammad himself took the initiative, planned attacks, assigned various positions to his various lieutenants,⁹² and always relied upon his own judgment while making any vital decisions.⁹³ Similarly, Muhammad himself conceived the administrative plans and assigned the various administrative jobs to various officers.⁹⁴ All this conclusively proves Muhammad's genius for both military and administrative leadership.

Secondly. Muhammad was a *sincere friend* and probably this was one of the main reasons for his success as a leader. Due to his sincerity he endeared himself to all, inspired confidence among all his friends and colleagues, and was able to hold them together.

(i) It seems that even as a young boy, Muhammad had endeared himself to his friends. For instance, when he was appointed to conquer Sind one of his friends, the poet al-Udail b. al-Farkh, organized, in his absence, a feast in Muhammad's honour back at home. This poor man arranged a sumptuous feast and slaughtered a number of camels, for the expenses of which even the ladies of the family surrendered their

85. *Vide* al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V/322; Ibn Khaldun, III/156, 157, 159 and 161; al-Yafa'i, I/157; al-Baladhuri, *Ansab*, V/133.

86. Ibn Khaldun III/49.

87. Ibn Khaldun, III/80.

88. *Vide*, al-Bayan II/61 and Ibn Khallikan, II/266.

89. al-Yaqubi, II/408.

90. Al-Masudi, *Tanbih* p. 327.

91. See *Fathnama* wherein numerous lieutenants of Muhammad have been mentioned. Some of them rose to high positions subsequently which shows that they were men of great abilities. For instance, al-Hakam b. 'Awanah al-Kalbi who later on became the Governor of Khurasan and then of Sind; Tamim b. Zaid al-Qaini who also became the Governor of Sind and others.

92. Cf. *Fathnama* pp. 106-107 (the battle of Debal) and pp. 155 and 174 (the battle against Dahar).

93. For instance, Muhammad's important decision to cross the Indus first and fight Dahar on his own side (see *Fathnama*, p. 140).

94. *Vide Fathnama*, pp. 217-18 and 220.

ornaments to him.⁹⁵

(ii) One 'Atiyya' b. S'ad al-'Aufi who had taken part in a rebellion, fearing al-Hajjaj, had fled to Persia. But al-Hajjaj wanted to punish him anyhow, and so ordered Muhammad who was in Persia, to punish 'Atiyyah by shaving his beard and head and giving him four hundred lashes. Muhammad called Atiyyah and read out al-Hajjaj's orders to him whereupon 'Atiyyah suffered this humiliating punishment.⁹⁵ But in spite of this it seems 'Atiyyah had full faith in Muhammad and remained attached to him. Thus, when Muhammad marched against⁹⁶ Sind, 'Atiyyah joined his army and served as a lieutenant under him.

(iii) Jahm b. Zahr al-Ju'fi was another lieutenant of Muhammad who was with him in Persia and whom, as we have already seen, Muhammad had dispatched in advance while preparing for his march against Rayy. Jahm, thereafter, accompanied Muhammad to Sind and took a prominent part in most of the battles.⁹⁷ Due to their long association, Muhammad and Jahm had become very intimate friends. But all of a sudden, Muhammad received from al-Hajjaj orders for Jahm's transfer from Sind to Khurasan where he had to serve under Qutaiba. Al-Tabari has referred to the touching scene of separation between the two friends as follows :

"Muhammad had a great affection for Jahm b. Zahr...so when Jahm took leave of him, Muhammad wept and said, 'Oh Jahm! this means separation!' 'Yes, and it can't be helped' replied Jahm (and they parted)."⁹⁸

This shows how tender-hearted Muhammad was : Indeed, he had a very soft corner in his heart for his friends as the above touching scene suggests.

(3) Thirdly, Muhammad *always kept his word*. Whenever Muhammad made a promise, he stood by it. This was another reason for his success as a leader. He could inspire confidence among his own men as well as among his opponents with whom he, very often, concluded peace treaties ; for, they knew that Muhammad's word could be fully relied upon. The people of Aror, the capital of Sind, opened the gates of the

95. *Vide Fathnama* p. 103, al-Udail b. al-Farkh b. Mu'in al-Ijliyy was a prominent poet whose critical verses had once offended al-Hajjaj so much that the latter was determined to have him killed. But the talented poet composed other verses extempore in praise of al-Hajjaj and so saved his life (al-Bayan, I 247). For further notice of him see *Naqaid*, pp. 646 and 1090; Ibn Duraid, p. 208; and Ibn Hazm, p. 295.

96. al-Tabari, III 2494. The story is recorded in the abridged text of al-Tabari's book "ذيل المذيل من تاريخ الصحابة والتابعين" published at the end of his

Universal History. Also cf. *Shadharat*, I 144.

97. Cf. *Fathnama*, p. 101.

98. Cf. *Fathnama*, p. 101, 106, 156, 172 and 192.

99. Al-Tabari, II 1257.

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99. Al-Tabari, II 1257.

city and surrendered to Muhammad because they said :

"We have already heard of Muhammad's integrity of purpose, modesty, justice and its enforcement, equity, grace, reliable treaties and trustworthiness of word."¹⁰⁰

Thereafter, an interesting incident took place at Aror which taxed Muhammad's patience and yet he kept his promise. The episode recorded in *Fathnama* is summarized here :

Those who did not submit and continued the fight were finally taken prisoners and according to the law of war, were condemned to death. But, before they were executed, a Brahmin soldier announced that he possessed an 'unknown secret' but he would divulge it only to the supreme commander. The matter being reported to Muhammad, he ordered that the man should be produced before him. When he was brought, Muhammad questioned him, whereupon the man replied that he would reveal the 'unknown secret' on condition that he and his relatives were granted amnesty and a written guarantee was given to that effect. Muhammad thought he might gain important information about some hidden treasures and so, by way of consideration, a written guarantee was given to him. Then the man got up, opened the knots of his long beard, twisted the end of the flowing beard round his toes, stood up, and began to dance saying that this long beard of his was the secret unknown to any of those who were present. Muhammad was simply surprised and his advisers suggested that this was not the secret for which he could be granted amnesty ; the fellow had tried to deceive them. But said Muhammad : "Word is a word and promise, a promise. It does not behove noblemen to go back on their word." He then issued orders that he should not be executed but be imprisoned, and reported the matter to al-Hajjaj and the Caliph who finally confirmed his decision.¹⁰¹

(4) Fourthly, Muhammad was a man of *cool temperament*. Even in the face of very trying situations, he never lost his balance of mind and never became too much excited or disturbed. Throughout his most challenging military career as a general, it was only once, when the decisive battle was raging between his forces and the armies of Dahar, that Muhammad was slightly excited and called for a glass of water. Even this was so very unusual with Muhammad that the episode was reported to al-Hajjaj by Ka'b, the officer who had carried the news of

100. *Fathnama*, pp. 223-24.

101. *Ibid*, pp. 227-28.

(ii) The second episode relates to Muhammad's visit to the temple at Aror. Muhammad went inside and saw the idol seated on a horse. On its fingers were golden rings studded with jewels. Quietly Muhammad took off a ring from one of the hands. Then he began to converse with the keeper of the temple about the deity and the man observed one ring missing and said: But it had two rings and one is missing! Muhammad replied: "But he is your god; can't he tell who has taken off the ring?" The temple keeper had no reply and simply bowed down his head, whereupon Muhammad smiled and gave him the ring so that it might be put back on the deity's finger.¹⁰⁸

(6) Sixthly, Muhammad had a *keen sense of duty and responsibility*. He was a highly disciplined young man who believed in law and authority and adherence to one's own duty and responsibility. It has already been seen how Muhammad complied with al-Hajjaj's orders and parted company with his very dear friend Jahm b. Zahr. He did not write back to al-Hajjaj requesting that he may be allowed to retain Jahm in his own army. Again, when al-Hajjaj died, (Ramadan-Shawwal 95 A.H. June, July 714 A.D.) he did not think of returning home but stuck to his post and went ahead with the plans of his campaign. Similarly; when Caliph al-Walid died and the new caliph dismissed Muhammad from his post, he submitted peacefully to the new Governor of Sind who had him arrested. As is obvious from his own verses already quoted, Muhammad wielded considerable power in Sind and had he so desired, he could have defied the orders of his arrest and successfully challenged the new Governor. His Syrian troops would have been ready to help him¹⁰⁹ but he submitted to authority and obeyed the orders. As Muhammad saw it "many men and women would have perished" in this internecine war and he was obviously against shedding the blood of his own men. When he was arrested and treated cruelly, his only regret was that the ruling house of Banu Marwan should have so conveniently forgotten his staunch loyalty to them and his unflinching obedience to law and authority.¹¹⁰

(7) Seventhly, Muhammad *believed in the cause*. Muhammad considered the task assigned to him as a mission to be accomplished. He put that mission above himself and his friends. Even the death of al-Hajjaj, his patron and the chief of his family, paled into insignificance in the context of his greater responsibilities as the supreme head of the Arab Government in Sind. Muhammad was a true patriot who believed in a still greater cause, that of the general prestige and strength of the new Muslim Arab power. When he was arrested and imprisoned and was definitely being tortured to death, he did not lament over the fact that

108. *Fathnama*, p. 226.

109. Cf. al-Tabari, III/1275.

110. *Vide supra* p. 12 Muhammad's verses (أنتسى بنو مروان سمعي وطاعتي الخ)

the final victory to al-Hajjaj.¹⁰² Even the news of al-Hajjaj's death did not disturb Muhammad. He had returned from his sojourns northwards¹⁰³ to Multan where the news of al-Hajjaj's death reached him.¹⁰⁴ All that he did was that he returned to Aror, his capital, in order to distribute alms but, thereafter, he went ahead with the plans of his campaign¹⁰⁵; without being upset to the slightest degree.

(5) Fifthly, he *had a jovial temperament and possessed a keen sense of humour*. This is confirmed by the following two interesting episodes recorded in *Fathnama*:

(i) While Muhammad was marching through northern Sind heading towards Aror, the capital of Dahar, he turned on his way towards the settlements of the Samma tribes. As the Arab army approached, the Sammas started beating drums and playing upon flutes, and came out dancing in order to welcome Muhammad. Thereupon, Muhammad inquired about this loud noise and resounding music with which the Samma crowds had approached him. He was informed that it was customary with them to greet the New ruler with such an imposing ceremony. But in the meanwhile, *Khuraim b. 'Amr*, one of the lieutenants of Muhammad,¹⁰⁶ had been so much impressed by this royal reception that he thought as if some very powerful enemy had surrendered with such humility. So, stepping forward, he began addressing Muhammad in right earnest:

'It becomes obligatory upon us to praise Allah and remember Him that by His Grace He made these people surrender to us and thus our government has been consolidated in this country'.

Khuraim was an intelligent man and a diplomat too, but here he had missed the whole perspective. The poor Samma tribes did not constitute a great power that had surrendered. They were just the good country folk who were only too glad to pay their homage to the new Arab army. Muhammad, therefore, had a hearty laugh at Khuraim's speech and replied: "Well, their chieftainship is now being assigned to you." Muhammad then asked the Samma players to dance before Khuraim whereupon Khuraim was obliged to reward them with twenty golden *dinars*.¹⁰⁷

102. *Fathnama*, p. 188. Also cf. *al-Mufaddaliyyat*, Arabic Text, p. 819. The Arabs with their hall-mark of valour and bravery, considered it a weakness in a man if he asked for water in any difficult situation. Thus, Khalid al-Qasiri, the well-known Viceroy of Iraq under Caliph Hisham, "passed for a coward and was despised because he called out in terror for a glass of water when he received, in the pulpit, word of a Shi'ite riot in Kufa" (Wellhausen, p. 327).

103. From Multan, Muhammad had marched to the boundaries of Kashmir. See *Fathnama*, p. 241.

104. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, IV 260 and al-Baladhuri Europe ed. p. 440/Egypt ed. p. 427.

105. *Loz. Cit.*

106. Cf. *Fathnama*, p. 102.

107. *Fathnama*, pp. 220-21.

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the power of Abu'Aqil's family, of which he was the main representative was being crushed; he did not grieve much over the subsequent fate of his own house and children; and he did not even care that soon he would be losing his own life. He rather thought in terms of wider interests and regretted that the ruling clique was deliberately losing in him a capable officer who could render useful service to his people. He expressed these feelings by citing the following verse of the contemporary poet, al-'Arji:¹¹¹

They have lost me, and what a man they have lost!
(He would have been an asset to them) in a tough battle and in the defence of the front.

(8) Lastly, it may be pointed out that this verse also incidentally reveals Muhammad's own appraisal of himself. He had full confidence in himself as a military commander. To that may be added "the noble qualities of manliness, forbearance and generosity," attributed to him by another contemporary poet al-Hamza.¹¹² Further, a *Thaqafite* poet paid him a tribute in the following words:-

He managed affairs with firm *Thaqafite* policy-With the wisdom and decision of a resolute man.
In all situations he acted with sound judgment.

111. In 'Kitab-al-Tijan' (p.49) this verse, among others, has been attributed to an earlier poet, Shihab b. Abi Dhuaib al-Hudhaliyy. But Muhammad was, probably, quoting his own contemporary poet al-'Arji, the great-grandson of Caliph 'Uthman, whose actual name was 'Abdullah (b. Umar b. Amr b. 'Uthman b. 'Affan—cf. Ibn Duraid, pp. 48-49 & Ibn Hazm, p. 77). That this verse does belong to al-'Arji is confirmed by al-Aghani (XV/20), al-Hariri (p. 64) and al-Khafaji. (For the last two references, the author is indebted to his learned teacher Prof. Abd-al-Aziz al-Maimani, lately Chairman of the Arabic Department, Muslim University, Aligarh). Both al-Baladhuri (Europe ed. p. 440 Egypt ed. p. 428) and Ibn al-Athir (IV/260) say that 'Muhammad cited this verse (فقال محمد متمثلاً) on the occasion but do not mention the name of the

poet. The verse in question is the first one of the following verses of al-'Arji.

أضاعوني وإي فتى أضاعوا — ليوم كريهة وسداد ثغر
و صبر عند معترك المنايا — وقد شرعت أسنتها لخيبر
أجررق الجوامح كل يوم — في الله مظلمتي وقهرى
كأنى لم أكن فيهم وسيطا — ولم تك نسبتي في آل عمر
عسى الملك المجيب لمن دعاه — يقدر منى وينظر كيف شكرى
فأجزى بالكرامة أهل ودى — وأجزى بالضغائن أهل وترى

112. Vide supra, p. 15.

Based on conviction arising out of wide experience.¹¹³

With all this, Muhammad was also an intellectual, well versed in contemporary Arabic poetry. His own verses already quoted¹¹⁴ show that he was himself a poet of no mean calibre.

To sum up, Muhammad was a born leader and a man of versatile genius. He was a poet, a patriot, a politician, an outstanding general and an accomplished administrator. He was strong against opponents and tender-hearted to his friends. We may conclude by supporting the sound opinion of al-Marzubani that Muhammad "was one of the great men of all times."¹¹⁵

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113. Cf. the following two verses (Nos. 2 & 4) out of the nine quoted in Fathnama (p. 189).

سأس الامور سياسة ثقافية — بشهادة سنة ورأى حازم
ماغاب عنه من الامور رزاة — فيه اليقين له عيان العالم

114. Vide supra, pp. 13 & 17

115. al-Marzubani (p. 412): وكان من رجال الدهر